

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13  
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 /076 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/ISP:MHUMPHREYS:SHC  
APPROVED BY ACDA/ISP:JNEWHOUSE  
PM:LBRECKON  
NSC:GTREVERTON  
S/S:TMARTIN  
EUR:JHAWES

-----080969 130157Z /63

O R 130105Z OCT 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCIN CEUR

S E C R E T STATE 245538

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: NEW INITIATIVE

REFS: A. STATE 243803 (DTG 112017Z OCT 77), B. BONN 16902  
(DTG 121511Z OCT 77)

1. AS FOLLOW-UP TO DISCUSSION REPORTED REFTEL, VON PFETTEN  
(GERMAN EMBASSY) ASKED TO SEE US OCTOBER 12 TO PROVIDE  
FURTHER GERMAN VIEWS CONCERNING TREATMENT OF TANK ARMY  
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MODIFICATION IN GERMAN INITIATIVE.

2. READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, VON PFETTEN SAID THAT GERMAN  
MOD HAS EXAMINED ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO DEALING WITH  
TANK ARMY OBJECTIVE WITHIN CONTEXT OF NEW INITIATIVE. BASED  
ON MOD EXAMINATION, "GERMAN GOVERNMENT" HAS COME TO CONCLU-  
SION THAT WE SHOULD RETAIN CURRENT NATO DEMAND FOR WITH-

DRAWAL OF SOVIET TANK ARMY, AND THAT WE SHOULD ONLY OFFER IN NEW INITIATIVE A TANK ARMY MODIFICATION PERTAINING TO SOVIET EQUIPMENT TO BE WITHDRAWN AND LIMITED AS DESCRIBED IN LAST PART OF PARA 7(2) OF GERMAN TEXT IN REF A.

3. FRG MOD ASSESSMENT CONCLUDED THAT PARA 7(2) OF GERMAN TEXT IN REF A IS NOT "SUFFICIENT" AS IT STANDS. IF THIS OPTION IS CHOSEN, CONTINUED VON PFETTEN, WEST WOULD HAVE

TO ASK ADDITIONALLY FOR WITHDRAWAL OF "COMMAND STRUCTURE STAFF" (PRESUMABLY THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS ELEMENT) AS WELL AS OF 5 DIVISIONS SPECIFICALLY FROM GSFG. SINCE THIS APPROACH CLOSELY RESEMBLES CURRENT ALLIED APPROACH AS DESCRIBED IN PARA 7(1) OF GERMAN TEXT IN REF A, GERMANS PREFER TO KEEP THAT PARA IN THEIR INITIATIVE AS STATEMENT OF NATO POLICY.

4. VON PFETTEN SAID THAT FRG ALSO PREFERRED TO DELETE BRACKETED PORTION OF PARA 7(2) OF THE GERMAN TEXT. THIS WOULD RESULT IN THAT PARA ADDRESSING ONLY THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL AND LIMITATION OF SOVIET EQUIPMENT.

5. TO SMOOTH NATO CONSULTATIONS, CONTINUED VON PFETTEN, "IT WOULD BE ADVISABLE" FOR US, UK, AND FRG TO AGREE TO SUPPORT ONE OF ALTERNATIVES UNDER PARA 7. VON PFETTEN REPEATED GERMAN PREFERENCE FOR WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS  
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"OPTION I" IN PARA 7(1). HE NOTED THAT THE FRG HAS MOVED TOWARD UK PREFERENCE IN THIS RESPECT. HE OBSERVED THAT FRG DOES NOT KNOW IF US HAS MOVED IN SAME DIRECTION.

6. IF US HAS NOT MOVED TOWARD "UK PREFERENCE" ("OPTION I" AS DESCRIBED ABOVE), VON PFETTEN SAID GERMAN INITIATIVE WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE BOTH OPTIONS, PARAS 7(1) AND 7(2) AS ORIGINALLY SET FORTH IN REF A INCLUDING BRACKETS.

7. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUERY, VON PFETTEN SAID IT WAS UNCLEAR TO HIM WHETHER THIS NEW GERMAN APPROACH HAD BEEN APPROVED BY GENSCHER AND LEBER. HE ASSUMED, HOWEVER, THAT IT HAD BEEN APPROVED BY BOTH, ALTHOUGH HE NOTED THAT GENSCHER IS NOW IN TOKYO.

8. IN RESPONSE TO VON PFETTEN'S STATEMENT, WE TOLD HIM US FEELS VERY STRONGLY THAT IT IS TIME FOR SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVE MBFR INITIATIVE DESIGNED TO GIVE NEGOTIATIONS THE POLITICAL PUSH NEEDED TO GET THEM OFF OF DEAD CENTER. WE UNDERSTOOD THAT HMG AND FRG SHARED THIS POINT OF VIEW. WITH THIS CONSIDERATION IN MIND, WE HAVE WORKED BILATERALLY WITH GERMANS AND TRILATERALLY WITH GERMANS AND BRITISH TO DEVISE

INITIATIVE THAT IS CONSISTENT WITH MAINTENANCE OF ALLIED SECURITY, THAT WOULD PROMOTE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR NATO, AND THAT WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH KEY ELEMENTS OF ALLIANCE NEGOTIATING APPROACH SUCH AS PARITY AND COLLECTIVITY. WE THOUGHT SUBSTANCE OF FIRST GERMAN DRAFT OF NEW INITIATIVE, WHICH WE REVIEWED IN SUMMER, WENT IN RIGHT DIRECTION. THAT PAPER, WE POINT OUT, INCLUDED TANK ARMY MODIFICATION. AT LONDON TRILATERAL, US CONTINUED TO PRESS FOR TANK ARMY MODIFICATION AND WE UNDERSTOOD THAT GERMAN DELEGATION IN LONDON SUPPORTED THIS VIEW AS WELL.

9. IN OUR OPINION, WE ADDED, NEW INITIATIVE WOULD BE SERIOUSLY UNDERCUT IF IT WERE DEPRIVED OF SUBSTANTIVE WEIGHT PROVIDED BY TANK ARMY MODIFICATION. FOR THAT REASON, WE  
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CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IDEA OF MODIFYING TANK ARMY OBJECTIVE ALONG LINES AGREED TO PREVIOUSLY BETWEEN BONN AND WASHINGTON. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WE STRESSED THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO HAVE FULL FRG SUPPORT FOR TANK ARMY MODIFICATION. OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS COULD BE USEFULLY DIRECTED TOWARD OBTAINING UK SUPPORT FOR TANK ARMY MODIFICATION, ALTHOUGH WE RECOGNIZED THE CHALLENGE THAT THIS POSED FOR US AND FRG. IN CLOSING, WE REITERATED OUR HOPE THAT FRG COULD JOIN US IN SUPPORTING TANK ARMY MODIFICATION AND WE UNDERTOOK TO WEIGH CAREFULLY POINTS MADE BY VON PFETTEN AND TO PROVIDE ANY ADDITIONAL US REACTION THAT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009